

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

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OUR NEW ECONOMIC CRISIS

In March, 1933, if you happen to recall, the army of unemployed was then estimated about 14,000,000. Five years later, approaching March, 1938, to be exact, our army of unemployed, or unemployables, according to the official census issued by the Government, will aggregate to from 12,000,000 wholly unemployed and 5,000,000 partly unemployed, which would set up the round figure of 14,000,000 unemployed as a fair average.

And to make the repetition of the 1929-1933 panic appear more vivid the President has called a White House conference of business leaders for a discussion of ways and means to revive the nation's industry—which ought to remind those who probably suffer from a lapse of memory that President Hoover at that time also called in the representatives of industry for a similar conference.

In other words, we are back where we started insofar as depressions go, only in our modern lipstick lingo we are prone to substitute the word "Recession" for what was formerly known as "depression."

Our President, of course, finds himself at present in an uncomfortable position. All the strong measures he has undertaken during the term of office to prevent a collapse in his plans for a sound, economic rehabilitation have met with sudden disaster, causing the whole scheme of his planned economy to break down like an old but overhauled flivver, with almost no parts available for its reconditioning.

Realizing as he does that the nation who entrusted him with its faith and hope for a concrete and efficient economic socialization will hold him personally accountable for its sudden collapse, he naturally looks for others upon whom he could unload at least part of the blame. He therefore launched a vigorous campaign against "a mere handful of bankers and industrialists" who, in his opinion, are directly responsible for the decline in business enterprise which caused the present recession.

At first glance the President's attack on the "handful of business men" suggests this question: If it is true that only a select class of reactionaries are the chief plotters against the so-called business stability, why does not the President and his Administration employ the existing laws (anti-trust laws) under his command to curb such sinister practices by this small minority? Why the bellicose phraseology about "no compromise with evil" when the Government is in possession of all the legal machinery to punish recalcitrants that strive to impede the well-being of the land.

Rightly a newspaper editorial that appeared in the capitalist press opposing the President's policies puts forth this query:

"... Why, then, the continual talk by the Administration that 'it is going to be a fight?' All that is required is for the Government to enforce the laws it has and to seek stronger measures, if necessary, to combat harmful monopolies. . . ."—Phila. Inquirer, January 11, 1938.

The answer to the query is very easy, of course. A government is organized for the purpose of domineering over the ruled masses and not over the ruling classes. All the "strong measures" undertaken by government for the preservation of its authoritative power is, invariably, against those elements who are at the bottom of the social organism. No government ever hesitates to club hungry marchers into submission. No government ever hesitates to scatter striking workers by the use of tear-gas, or, if necessary, by wielding freely the stick and bayonet. No government ever hesitates to imprison a "trouble-maker" who uses his oratorical talents to arouse the people against oppression. Only when a privileged class dared to become obstructive in its policy against the Government's economic experiments did the Administration open its "fight" with a strong verbal barrage at first and then wound up with an invitation to the influential business executives for a White House conference.

The battle, then, between the Administration and Big-Business is as good as over. A compromise is certain to be reached between all parties concerned, with no damage done to either. But what can the rank-and-file, the great majority of people who have suffered hunger and the ignominy of "charity" hand-outs expect from the conciliation? Will any kind of cooperative agreement between the Administration and Big-Business bring back the wished-for recovery and thus assure the people of a sound economic existence?

It would be too great an expectation even to the most ardent optimist. The economic, like the political, status of a people will never be solved at round-table talks, however good the intention of the participants. The simple truth is that not the few individual magnates are to blame for the present slump and its consequences, as our President seems to indicate, but the entire economic structure which has been set up by capitalism on the basis of artificial distribution of the natural and created products. This mechanical play with human livelihood simply cannot withstand the gravity upon which revolves the natural laws for human existence, hence a periodic collapse in the economic foundation is inevitable.

Men (not the privileged) will forever face a bitter struggle for existence just so long as the system of distribution will be based on individual profiteering—which is the nucleus of our prevailing social order. All the wizzardy juggling of figures by expert financiers in the ledger-sheets, and all the scheming acrobatics introduced in budget-balancing, tax-revision, wage-and-labor adjustment, tariff-barriers, etc., will not help to alleviate the ills of the suffering masses who are the chief victims in the periodic crises. At most these clever manipulations can only serve to transpose the surplus profits from one individual or group of profiteers to another.

Let us make a brief analysis of the workings of our economic system so we could have a perfect idea how the pendulum swings from prosperity to depression and then back again, in exact harmony with the "ticker" that swings back and forth in the Stock Exchange market. We know, for instance, that in time of prosperity when industry runs full blast, the people spend freely their earnings and so accumulate enough goods to last them for an indefinite period of time; a decline, therefore, in purchasing power follows, which also creates a decline in industrial output. Working hours are then reduced, wages begin to drop—and the panic is on. While the depression continues for a year or so (the last one held out for five years) prices of commodities begin to drop, first gradually and then at a faster pace, until they come down to the lowest level; this results that people who have had some savings hoarded away, open up their purses and begin buying, for profit or use, on the low market, which brings on a revival of purchasing power and naturally—or artificially—brings back recovery in industry. Unemployment is then decreasing, wages are increasing, trade and commerce is flourishing—and so we have prosperity in full bloom again. Yes,

prosperity is then on the up-grade until the law of supply and demand swings the pendulum back again . . . and the hitherto starving masses again must face hunger and starvation.

The very same criterion is applicable, not only to the economic struggle of the great masses in general, but also to the aims of organized labor in particular. In prosperous times when the wheels of industry turn full speed ahead, wages begin to climb (through the strike or otherwise), but with them comes also a proportionate increase in prices of the products they consume; the net result being that even in prosperity, with all the high wages the worker gets for his labor, he is only there to serve capitalism with his hard toil for the living wage he receives in return.

Having thus brought our short analysis of the economic cycle, we can now offer our own solution to the problem, namely this: No system in economic reform, however cleverly planned, will bring any material aid to the well-being of the masses. The only way people can hope to solve their economic ills is by departing from the capitalist system—or even the "stately" system, if you please—whereby commodities are distributed for profit and adopt a method by which they could share the products of their labor cooperatively. Without availing themselves of the full benefits of their earned products, they cannot and should not hope for any kind of economic independence, save, perhaps, the "charity dole," or some other sort of beggarly compensation a benevolent government is inclined to offer as a medicine cure for hunger.

When we attempt to embrace the whole situation with our clear senses, there really are no natural causes for human suffering (economically speaking, of course). After all, so long as the human race will exist, the earth will produce crops, the trees will yield fruit, gardens will grow vegetation, cows will feed us milk and human skill and ingenuity will always provide comfort and luxury for all. Why, then, must a whole race depend on the financial sheet prepared somewhere in a Wall Street office with its life and happiness? Why should we dwell in misery and leave the politicians and stockholders to decide our fate with "percentages" and other hokus-pokus market fluctuations? There is plenty of resources in our land to share by all people alike. And if they ever come to realize that no individual or caste has a moral or legal right to declare a monopoly of the land and her products, they will then visualize a just and humane social order.

Samuel Polinow

Light on the "New Deal" . . .

The criticism that MAN! and its collaborators have been making on the "new deal" is very strikingly substantiated by an article written by Mr. M. W. Jor, financial editor of the pro-Roosevelt Los Angeles Daily News (2/12/38). Remarkably enough, the article was not printed as news, nor as a featured article, but on the financial page under the heading: Continued Mortgaging of Future Reflects Low State of Social Ethics. We are presenting it herewith in full.—Editor.

Once more the Government must ask huge sums of money for relief spending, only this time it is intimated that floating of new securities will be unnecessary. There is sufficient cash, says the Treasury Department, in the Social Security Fund to take care of the proposed appropriation.

Thus the public is given to assume that nothing more than a routine bookkeeping operation is necessary, which will be merely a transfer of money from one pocket to another. But actually a great deal more is involved, not so much for the present generation, but for those who must struggle with the future.

How does the Social Security Fund happen to be handy for the Government relief program? It was collected in levies on both employers and workers, in the form of forced savings to provide for the future. The money belongs to the workers and must be paid back to them some day. But the Government is spending the money almost as quickly as it is collected, issuing special obligations to the Social Security Fund. These obligations bear 3 per cent interest and thus become an "investment."

But the obligations must be redeemed some day, and there will be no way for the Government to get the cash to do so except by additional taxation. Eventually, then, workers of the nation must be taxed again to be paid the money which is rightfully theirs from previous levies. Nor is that the only additional burden, for taxation must provide revenues

to meet the 3 per cent interest earned by the Social Security Fund.

The whole operation is simply a continued mortgaging of the future to save the present, and reflects a complete reversal of classic concepts. In the old days the best ethics recognized the necessity for society to live in such a manner that the future was protected. Today the idea is to destroy hopes of the future in order to accommodate the present.

The whole dilemma has come about because of a universal demand that the depression should not destroy the economic status quo. Previous depressions have forced liquidation of certain situations and widespread readjustments of debt and capital structures. This was done to force society into solution of current problems, so that there would be no burden on the future.

But since 1929 the outcry has been stubbornly against present-day surgery and a reliance on easing the pain with the narcotic of mortgaging the future. Unfortunately this demand has come from both business and politics, so that it has been extremely easy to slip into the perils of continued reflationary policies.

The result is a tremendous debt burden that few believe can be unloaded without extreme sacrifice by future generations. It seems pitifully poor morality to make citizens unborn pay for the economic sins of today, but that is the direction in which mounting debt carries the country.

More and more, in quiet places, there is beginning to be a suspicion that it would be better to step boldly into outright inflationary repudiation, rather than to keep up the social and economic torture of slowly cutting away the hope of a future. Repudiation would bring a period of ruin, but at least it would allow reconstruction on a foundation that would not destroy the generations to come.

CATALONIA: ANARCHISM IN PRACTICE

"Whatever there may be the provincial diversities in the Spanish human character, the peninsularians, easy-minded in the everyday matters of life, distinguish themselves anyhow from the mass of other people, by a spirit of tranquil resolution, a persistent courage, an indefatigable tenacity, which qualities have, according to good or bad employment, sometimes made the glory, and sometimes the misfortune of the nation."

ELISER RECLUS: "Histoires de Espagnoles."

Very often we anarchists were asked by quite seriously minded people: "Can you show us an example, give us a proof, that society can be managed without government, the industry and agriculture run without the authority of the employer, the boss, and without the incentive of profit?"

For the first time in the history of the working masses all these questions have been answered in the affirmative, not by any new theoretical argumentation, but by the irrefutable argument of fact, of life, of reality."

In this feature lies the great everlasting merit of the Spanish anarchist movement, as embodied by the FAI ("Federacion Anarquista Iberica") and the CNT ("Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo.")

From July 19th, 1936, till May 1937, for about nine months, these two bodies of anarchist thought and action have, outside of the war and, alas, in absolute contradiction to it, worked out on the economic-productive basis of Spanish social life a new economy, as it was hitherto solely promulgated by the anarchists. It was the economy, wherein the means of production are commonly owned and managed by those who work them, where everyone willing to produce has free access to them, and where the means of production are neither monopolized by the private capitalist nor by government.

For the first time during the social-emancipatory struggle of the workers the bourgeois society had the opportunity of observing the realization of the economic slogan of anarchism: Production without Monopoly! And it proved itself, in spite of the most adverse circumstances of war, tremendously workable. The increment of production increased, the greatest orderliness in the technical functions predominated, and the federal concentration of all cooperative efforts made all governmental interventionism—the greatest curse of capitalism as well as state—"communism," viz. marxian organization of society—superfluous and impossible.

This great, glorious example, which the Spanish anarchists have given of the feasibility of a social production, run without any dominant factory-ruler, run on the lines of autonomy and solidarity, was the more unique and inspiring, as the example which Russian marxism-bolshevism, has given during the last twenty years, even only in economic aspects, has been so disconcerting and self-condemnatory, that the very slogans of "socialism" and "communism" are threatening to become a laughing-stock for all people of common sense. Until today the Soviet-dictatorship has, in the naturally richest endowed sixth part of the whole world, not only by no means achieved an economic welfare for all, but as a matter of fact the standard of life of the workers and peasants of Russia is by far lower than in the most down-ridden countries of western capitalism. To preach to an English or an American worker the tenets of marxism, as demonstrated by the Soviet-dictatorship in Russia, means either to be an ignoramus or to believe one can make the worker to be one.

For all this horrible fraud which bolshevism has perpetrated since 20 years in Russia, and which has strewn a seed out of which quite naturally had to spring fascism, inasmuch as the workers do not understand anarchism, always wildly maligned and combatted by the marxians—for all its crimes bolshevism gave many "dialectical" excuses. Firstly, they maintained, one country cannot realize socialism; secondly, the great, rich Russia has not enough raw materials; thirdly, during a war of invasion which Russia had to endure, it was impossible to start in with communism (until today not started in Russia); fourthly, in order to come to socialism it needs, thus taught the "great" Lenin, it needs a long period of transition, which, allegedly, cannot be one of extreme liberty, but must be one of extreme slavery, a dictatorship carried on in the name of "the proletariat," in fact, enslaving mostly the proletariat. No one of the marxian "scientists" is able to say when this dictatorship shall come to an end, and socialism to begin. And today, in Russia, we behold, after twenty years of bolshevik rule by fire and iron, that a most awful thrall-dom of state-capitalism is established which tries in a most humble and hypocritical way to reconcile itself with western democracy, this old bourgeois bogey for, and instead of, real liberty, being only possible in a society without any man-made government.

With one stroke of a collective genius the Spanish anarchists and workers and peasants, inspired by the former, have done away with all these marxian lies and forgeries.

In the period of a few months they reorganized the industry and agriculture upon the elementary principles of liberty, autonomy, solidarity. In spite of a terribly ravaging war within one half of the country—Russia from 1919 till 1922 did never realize civil war to that extent—the Spanish anarchistically inspired mass of the people, without any dictatorship, demolished capitalism and created an economy of a most marvelous collectivism. They have shown that marxism is in all its

MADRID: YEAR TWO

This is Pathe News, the Eyes and Ears of the world
You eyes of tylist, foundry worker, farmer
And ears articulate to the same language
In Rhodesia, Italy, Buenos Aires

This is Year Two in Madrid.

On the immaculate white square
And the stage with seven curtains
Is not smeared the spittle.
The intrepid cameraman scuffed the red fragment aside.

Dust, blood, excrement:
This is a battlefield, not a ballroom.
Stare hard: an American volunteer
Leaps, fails.

And this is courage.

You disassociate
Disembodied
As the life from the film, the film from the screen,
Stare hard:

This is an epic,

This is Year two in Madrid

Carbines unsling.

Llewellyn Ap-Rhys

luring promises a fraud, and that the reorganization of capitalist society depends upon the will of the workers to sever all connections between the economy and production of society from government. The severing of connections to government means the annihilation of monopoly; therefrom socialism emanates practically spontaneous.

Anarchism in Spain has shown: *The social revolution must set in with the abolition of government!* Inasmuch as the Spanish workers succeeded therein, they could create economic liberty for the workers; inasmuch as government still prevailed, it demolished all the efforts of the workers, casting them anew into slavery.

How correct these assertions are, can best be seen by the statements of all unbiased opponents or earnest observers.

To the latter we may count Andre Juin who has published in "Le Peuple" (Paris, August 13th, 1937) one of his most interesting studies, resulting from his tour of exploration throughout republican Spain. He confesses that he sees the tremendous importance of the Spanish revolution in the fact, for the first time realized by the Spanish anarchists and anarcho-sindicalists: "The factory belongs to the worker!"

Under the caption of this title Andre Juin leads us into the sugar refinery at Monzon, in Aragonia. There the directors and the technicians had fled, in foolish fear and out of their conservative traits, after July 19th, 1936. Instead of waiting till the government would "nationalize" the plant by means of incompet-

ent parasites and bureaucrats, the workers went straight ahead in direct action and reorganized the factory upon the basis of cooperation. It was done with the greatest success, as Juin shows, showing how within autonomy and liberty a voluntary, methodically organized co-working of all ensued, instead of the former "discipline." He shows what an absurdity it is when the marxists maintain that the workers are "not mature" for the "tremendous task of realizing socialism," but that in reality this realization is "so very simple." And how out of this realization of a real socialized production—freed from bossism and governmentalism—there arises a veritable "regeneration" of men as well as society.

Most impressive are the figures which Juin offers. He shows the utter uselessness of the capitalist form of production by proving that the sugar-refinery has not lost anything by turning down the capitalist management and supplanting it by a cooperative management of and by the real producers. Let us listen to the facts as rendered by one in the cooperative management; he says:

"We have realized since we began an increase of one and a half million of produce. We must think about the amortization of the material and about certain needs. But all this is easy, as we do not have any more to consider the interests of the dividend-eating stock-bond owner. As our first realization of a new system we have no unemployment any more. Those landworkers, connected with our factory, have regained the ground. As we know that we owe it to them to the greatest extent that we could produce our 110,000 bags of sugar, they being the real creators, and as we know that the agricultural workers earn in his two months of work much less than the technical labourer, we have given them a compensation equalizing the incomes. Certainly, we must have more people attending the management, but what does it matter when it is a fact that they all together do not cost as much as the capitalist and his directors have cost before! In all cases we can say that the work is now based upon a much better basis of mutual understanding, and of all benefitting by it; besides, our material is used far more extensively and it will also last much longer than before."

Similar to this, the Spanish workers and peasants have acted all over Catalonia, Murcia, Valencia. Nearly 10 millions of people, lived under a more or less semblance of anarchist collectivism, partly even anarchist communism. The constituent elements of this economic system Andre Juin describes as follows:

"They are rich in initiative, possess great stimulents for the producer, and grant liberty. All danger of bureaucracy is minimized to naught, the responsibility of each is increased, and the workers become manifestly imbued with a strong conscience of their economical self-determination."

It is just for these reasons that Stalinism has combined in Spain with Fascism, backed by the bourgeois elements of all political parties with the inclusion of social democracy; they all want the same: to smash the achievements of anarchism in Spain. They all tremble before the great wonderful example the Spanish anarchists have given for the first time to the world and which means a call to it:

Organization of production on the basis of common ownership, with exclusion of all authority, be it the one of the individual capitalist or the monster of monopoly—the state!

Pierre Ramus

ON THE BLOCK

Well, folks, so far our Santa has been rejected by the most reputable madhouses in the country. But he's still persistent; and in order to prove himself a first-class lunatic he inserted in his next application some funny sayings, which he hopes will make him eligible for admittance. Here are his crazy sayings, folks:

"The world is an asylum and the people are escaped lunatics."

"Give a man his freedom even if he doesn't want it."

"Do not act wise, but don't let anybody fool you."

"If you must turn the other cheek do it only in a kissing game."

"What need do we have for our mind when the sword rules our thought."

"Life is a burden everybody is anxious to carry."

"Death is a 'relief' nobody wants..."

"That ought to convince 'em, Santa... Best of luck."

And now for our usual stuff.

Why did Il Duce find it necessary to withdraw from the League of Nations; did anybody stop him from going about clubbing people to death?

Credit it seems is so tight nowadays that capitalism had to go on a cash-and-carry basis. All Japan needs to do when she sinks a neutral ship is pay a retail price per drowned person and her account is settled.

Pretty soon they'll have price-tags on each living individual, with a 2% discount for immediate cash when he's knocked off.

Is there a wise man still living in this crooning and joke-cracking world of ours? If there is we turn to him with this query that's been perplexing our brain for many a day: Oh, noble man of wisdom, pray tell us, why is it considered a crime to love Trotsky instead of Stalin?

All General Ludendorf had to do is lead millions of Germans to slaughter and be proclaimed a genius, a nobleman and an immortal when Death settled his last account with him.

Isn't it a screwy world we are living in? Here we have our Santa-Panta who wouldn't even kill a fly if he saw it

parading on someone's bald-head, will anybody take notice of him when the soul departs from his noble body? Not a chance! Not a chance! If he can't do such a little thing as committing murder he doesn't even belong to the human race....

And anyway, for one to become famous these days he must either talk with his stomach, croon like a calf, or at least swallow a primadonna.

And they're still shooting 'em in Soviet Union. My, my, what a crap game!...

So Roumania joined the Fascist block, eh? That's alright; the more the merrier. It won't be long now before they'll start bombing one another to prove that each one has a better brand of fascism.

Again Mr. Roosevelt admonished the rich for abusing their capitalist power. That's right, Mr. President. You should even go so far as to stop talking to them....

And by the way, if the President is so anxious to help the poor why don't he take some of the money away from those rich guys? After all, he's the one who helped them make it....

There's one thing we must say about the Roosevelt presidents though: they are a fighting people. The only difference between Theodore and Franklin is that the former raised a "big-stick" while the present merely points a menacing finger....

Santa Panta

We live in a time, which, aside from questionable disadvantages, does have one advantage—that it carries our conscious experience back to the very roots of things, to the fundamental truths.... One of these simple truths, which is today experienced as a novelty and must be spoken of as such, is the fact that the spirit must be free in order to be at all interesting, terrorized spirit is not worth a tinker's dam.

—THOMAS MANN.

THE TRUE ANTI-FASCISTS

V. Aretta

Any form of government is more or less tyrannical, depending on the demographic development of its people, on the economic condition of the country and even on the geographical position, therefore, on the degree of danger of the ruling class losing their spoils acquired in the mad race for domination.

A docile, meek, servile people may be an agglomeration of beggars, but need not be politically oppressed; so their government is "liberal" or "democratic." The moment, though, these slaves begin to think and realize that after all they, too, are human beings entitled like all the others to their share in this world and attempt to speak out their grievances, then you see something you did not, perhaps, expect. The "liberal" or "democratic" government exhibits its hitherto hidden fangs giving vent to its inherent nature of faithful gunman of the privileged few and jealous holder of its multitudinous sinecures.

I don't think there has ever been an apparently good government that at one time or other has not become oppressive. I don't think there may ever be a government that will say: "Well, boys, as long as there are in this nation people resenting our restrictions on the expression of their thoughts or complaining about their being hungry, here you are, we quit this business cheerfully and go to make from now on our modest and decent living on a farm, cultivating potatoes and cabbage"—unless they have suddenly become insane. High-minded and magnanimous persons have no use for politics. The reigning and governing thirst belongs to the narrow-minded.

In contemporary history we've had two men of brains, Lenin and Trotsky. The infamous Czarist regime had at last fallen and the new rulers were the hope of the free-thinking individuals and of dispossessed mujiks. But, alas! these men of brains, these intellectuals emerged of such a gigantic revolution were—if the seemingly contradictory expression may go—just as narrow-minded as any bourgeois governing-body. They thought the same law could be fit for a libertarian, for example, as well as for a Ukrainian, etc. Nature had infused a strong will into a backward body. Which reminds me of the comparison between Kronstadt and the Paris Commune made by London "Freedom" two years ago:

"The Paris Commune wiped out by the brutal massacre and repression of the Thiers Government, and similar treatment of the Kronstadt sailors and workers by the Bolshevik Government. The 'offence' of Kronstadt was that they insisted on maintaining the Soviet system of 1917, while the new master-class, who got power by the use of the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets,' have shown that their intention was really 'Death to the Soviets and All Power to the Communist Party.' But the nature of both governments, in Paris and in Moscow, was the same. Yet there are many people who think that Anarchists are peculiar because of their objection to the institution of government itself!"

Yes, the essence of all government is "fascist," if we have to use the foolish term in vogue to express

tyranny. Only through a feeling of security or weakness may a government, at times, show leniency or magnanimity.

I said, the term "fascist" is foolish, or worse, simply because it is confusing. When the fascist hordes will be driven out of Spain, for instance, there will still be the bolshevik cut-throats to be fought. They are fascist, too, under a different name; they are Stalin's hirelings carrying the mandate of assassinating the foremost champions of liberty; they are the cold, brutalized esbirras of blind tyranny. And suppose all these perverse beings, traitors to humanity, will vacate Spain, will that government be so humanitarian to care for its people's welfare or so morally strong to defy the stronger governments' injunctions? Unless the Spanish people understand—and, of course, they do—that they must not lay down their guns as long as liberty needs vigilance, their government will turn fascist (tyrannical) under some other name.

That is why it is dangerous for independent-minded individuals to concentrate their efforts solely in resisting the abuses of a so-called fascist government. Any

politician, when in a good mood and among close friends, will confess that government means naturally oppression. The best excuse he can have for it is that it's a necessary evil. Therefore, it must be at least watched, kept in check, if you cannot for the time being do more. You're not, you cannot be a true anti-fascist, unless you oppose all tyranny, unless you are a libertarian. As long as this word has become the fashion of the day, well, let's all be anti-fascists, that is, friends of liberty.

But this way of thinking and reasoning leads us to anarchism, that word misunderstood and so much hated by "well established" spoilers, by captains of industry and by ignorant slaves. Anarchism is the fight against all oppression and spoilation, against all political and economic privilege; the fight in behalf of the free development of every individual in society. That's what may be called true anti-fascism. As that friend of liberty, that is the London "Spain and the World," puts it, the Spanish Anarchists are the only true Anti-Fascists because they are not deceived by the sickening nonsense of their allies about "Democracy" and "Liberal Government."

OBJECTIONS? TRIFLES!

II

Before my conclusion on the subject of violence, I wish to answer briefly the following two statements which, according to the pacifists, seemed to be beyond refutation: "Violence has always begotten violence. It can destroy but it can never build. Experience confirms the fact that when a system of society has violently been done away with, the succeeding system must always be maintained by violence. Violence does not put an end to violence; it perpetuates it. One can say that it has the value of historical law. Therefore, integral pacifists must reject and condemn without reserve the use of violent means."

If I had not decided to limit the field of discussion I could review the course of centuries, and easily prove that the changes in regimes have not IN ANY ONE SINGLE CASE brought about a real destruction of those social conditions that were to be fundamentally transformed.

The various regimes: Brute right, divine right, and democratic right, have succeeded each other without transforming or even modifying the political, economic and moral conditions of the working masses. Names have changed, that's true, but they are only words. Indeed, the present masters are nothing but the successors of the masters of the past; and the working masses of today the successors of yesterday's serfs and slaves. Who can reasonably and seriously maintain that the social conditions have been fundamentally transformed?

Surely great political convulsions—important economic shake-ups—have been called "Revolutions," but in reality their outcomes have been naught. Truly if we realize what this tremendous word "Revolution" means, if we think for a moment of the formidable idea it represents, we can affirm that there has never been a true revolution; none are registered in history, and consequently no—HISTORICAL LAW—can find its demonstration in a series of experiences of which the first is still to be had.

Yes! Certainly! Those who succeed in grasping something by force from those who have acquired it by might, will be placed in the necessity of using violence in order to retain it.

In such a case it cannot be otherwise; it is logical to maintain that violence has begotten, begets and al-

ways will beget violence, violence can not be abolished, be it victorious or defeated it will still continue.

However, there is violence and there is violence. We must understand that the wonderful drama called by us "The Social Revolution," has nothing to do with the common and middling "raising curtains" that they like to present to us as revolutions.

Here, know that Anarchists are not gangsters who wish to seize power in order to be in a position to rule—Anarchists refuse to command as well as to obey. They have never tried to exploit the sheepish credulity and ignorance of the masses by teaching them that authority is socially useful, necessary and equitable, but ill-omened in the hands of others, and that in theirs it would be beneficial to all. The Anarchists have always stated and untiringly affirmed that authority is IRREMEDIABLE BAD IN ITSELF, no matter who has it or who would have it. They do not and never will fight to conquer the State; to the contrary, they will battle to break all the springs of the governmental machinery. They have a loathing and abhorrence for authority. And Anarchists have resolved to pioneer a social MILIEU from which all political and economic masters will be eliminated, those of the State as well as those of industry. They are positive that violence will disappear in such a MILIEU; not because human beings will have become suddenly peaceful and meek as lambs, but simply because violence will have ceased to be necessary.

He who speaks of authority speaks of violence; and he who says freedom, says understanding.

The principle of authority renders the intervention of violent means necessary. We cannot conceive a power that would not have at its service a collection of forces able to impose and enforce their will and laws.

Gangsters can change; government gangs can succeed each other again and again, but violence remains because authority cannot do without it. It is only in doing away with the latter that the first can be suppressed.

"Absolute" pacifists! Think it over. You will understand that if your slogan "Violence begets violence," applies to all regimes which maintain the principles of authority, it pitifully crumbles when you try to apply it to a libertarian society.

Sebastien Faure

(Translated by Jules Scarceux)

SONG FOR MAN

Your heart, O Man, that dreams the dream,
But some heads wear the crown;
And builds your eye a greater sky,
Some heads may tear it down.

Beware the frame, O son of Man,
For which Man hourly dies;
By your own hands supported stands
A citadel of lies.

Where Greed and Power sit enthroned,
Carving Death's design;
The wrath of War that we abhor
For sons like yours and mine.

Have Nobler Men then died in vain,
Leaving tool and clown,
While Greed gives berth to Hell on earth
And none to tear it down.

The martyred dead cry out to you!
Courage! Fearless plan!
Your sons that be shall live to see
A Brotherhood Of Man!

JEANETTE SELETZ

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS MEET IN SPAIN

Youth in Spain has been concerned with social questions and active in politics for a long time. The socialists, republicans, communists, anarchists, catholics all have their youth organizations.

The libertarians, however, have not had much of a following among the students, because most of them belonged to the upper and middle classes. Now that classes are beginning to be more or less levelled off, students who sympathize with the anarchist ideals have formed a federation and held their first congress in Valencia recently. Eighty delegates were present from every part of loyalist Spain, some on leave from the trenches. In line with their ideal, they have adopted a beautiful motto:

"A city that emerges—the University;
An edifice that crumbles—the jail."

—Spanish Labor Bulletin

Surgery: A Cutting History

It is generally believed that doctors of today are heirs to the standards of those valiant men who have done so much in ages past in medical research and practice: that physicians of the past have for ages been interested in the study and practice of medicine.

But history has a way of its own of revealing itself. Medical men are first heard of in old English history as Leeches, and in 1783 in Vienna, and shortly afterwards in other countries, surgery first became officially professional. It would therefore seem that whatever medical history and knowledge to be claimed in heirship is of the comparative small age of 150 years. Naturally doctors and surgeons will hardly wish to claim genealogical connections with their forbears and predecessors before that time.

There was a time in the Middle Ages when bleeding was considered a cure for all ailments, but as the medici puri were individuals of greatest dignity and profoundest education who strutted around in costly robes it was considered beneath their dignity to cause the shedding of blood: aye to do anything more than write prescriptions.

The work was therefore relegated to the only class of men who knew how to handle small sharp instruments, and who were handy with basins and towels—the barbers. The barber-surgeon is even now found occasionally in certain towns in Germany and Russia.

A boy destined to be a barber was apprenticed before he could read or write. His practical work began at once. He would go from house to house, shaving and sharpening kitchen knives. A little later he was taught to cup, bleed, apply leeches, and extract teeth. After this an examination by a lazy and careless master barber entitled him to practice for himself. Life after that was comparatively easy and had but two bad features.

First, if a nobleman died after having been bled by a barber, the barber-surgeon must give a certain number of years of service to the family of the deceased. Next, competition had to be considered. The Church, ever-mindful of its own, and seemingly with an eye on the gate receipts, made a rule that only those previously educated could do surgery. As the only class generally educated, the monks immediately became surgeons, and so busy did they become that they shamefully neglected their religious duties, oftentimes wholly abandoning the monasteries. High dignitaries of the church acted as surgeons and physicians to Kings and Princes, and had much money, honor and fame given them.

In France in the reign of Louis XVI the shaving and surgical barbers were definitely and formally separated.

During all this reign of the barber-surgeons, another group of workmen were also following the trade of surgery. The Crusaders of the eleventh century brought back with them from the East dirt and filth,—and leprosy. As no hospitals existed in that day, and as the Crusaders were far from their homes, some means of caring for the injured and sick soldiers had to be found. As cleanliness was the thing most needed, bath-houses were erected for this purpose. But as bathing became less necessary, the bathkeeper took to bleeding, cupping, and other practices of the barber-surgeon.

Naturally there was much envy and rivalry felt between barbers and bathkeepers. Austria first settled this enmity in 1733 by calling both groups of surgeons, and at the same time made laws governing the price of their work. Thirty-five dollars was the highest count allowed for an operation and consequent attention, but the average price was from five to ten dollars.

—The Vegetarian-Fruitarian-Humanitarian

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

MURDER AND POLITICS GOES ON IN SPAIN

The Teruel victory of the Loyalist forces, and in which victory the pro-anarchist fighters have played the most important part, has been made use of by the Loyalist government as a political maneuver for conceding its readiness to make peace with the hangman-butcher Franco! This may sound as pure madness but it is nevertheless true.

British imperialism fears a loyalist victory, for such a victory can only result in strengthening the revolutionary achievements of the heroic Spanish people as well as give the march of revolution a momentous and invigorating new impetus. At the same time British imperialism does not wish to see a Franco-fascist victory, for out of such a victory the imperialist ambitions of Germany and Italy will reap a harvest. So, the mercenary imperialists of England would rather see a patched-up peace. The Negrin Socialist-Communist regime is willing to oblige—for such a course follows in line with the Stalin world policy of: uniting with the devil in order to fight the devil.

The monster Franco is adamant. Supplied with all the men and the machinery of destruction by Italy and Germany, and with cash by England, Franco has unloosed a new reign of terror and devastation upon the non-combatant populations of the village, town and city. Even his outright sinking of British merchant ships and the murdering of British seamen cannot move the English imperialists to change their sitting-on-the-fence position. Franco stands thus the chance of striking the best bargain out of the close to two year old reign of terror and murder that he has inaugurated.

Whether the heroic fighting people of Spain will allow a Negrin-Franco-British peace betrayal is altogether a different question. Every sign of what has happened since July 1936 points to the unequivocal answer that the people of Spain will in the end know how to cope with any such attempted betrayal against their struggle for bread, land and freedom.

Foreign investments in Spain, according to the *New York Times*, of Sept. 19, 1937, total the sum of 1,277,000,000 pesetas (\$417,195,000) divided as follows:

GREAT BRITAIN: 53.9%.

FRANCE: 34.5%. (Combined 88.4.)

GERMAN & U. S.: Balance.

ELECTIONS IN RUSSIA

Out of an electorate of 94,138,159 possible voters, 91,113,153, or 96.8 per cent, went to the polls. Of those voting 632,074 crossed the names of candidates for the Council of the Soviet and 562,402 those of candidates for the Council of Nationalities. Thus runs the report of the Bolshevik rulers over Russia.

The report fails to mention many a thing. It speaks not of a one-state list of candidates, approved by the Communist Party, as the only list allowed to appear on the ballot. It does not convey how the "miracle" of getting out the as yet unheard-of largest electorate vote was brought about, thereby leaving one to draw one's own conclusions. Neither is any explanation offered for the fact of more than one million citizens crossing out the machine-state list of candidates.

Parliaments and electioneering has always been the decoy whereby to mislead the citizenship in aiding to perpetuate the political fetters of economic injustice. Thus it has ever been in all capitalist countries. It remained but for a simon-pure Marxian-Socialist State to even surpass all capitalist States in the misuse of the political machine as a means to perpetuate its economic reign.

The only encouraging event in the elections is the admittance of the rulers of Russia that 1,194,476 human beings had the courage to cross out the entire political-state list of candidates. Equally encouraging is the fact that 3.2 per cent of possible voters refused to even bother in going to the polls, despite all threats to the contrary.

MR. ROOSEVELT HATES WAR . . . BUT—

President Roosevelt has delivered many well prepared (by ghost writers) speeches against war. But that was long ago, at least so it seems. Since last December the President is singing a new song. It began with his writing to Chairman Edward D. Taylor of the House Appropriation Committee, in part:

... World events have caused me growing concern. . . . Under the Constitution the President is commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy and has, therefore a very specific duty to safeguard the defense of national interests. . . .

On January 5, 1938, President Roosevelt backed up his letter by demanding of Congress an army and navy appropriation totalling \$1,010,835,187 for the year of 1939—the largest in the history of America—in peace time.

These two striking events, coming right upon the heels

WHO IS A LIAR?



THE ROAD TO HELL . . .

We find from the *Annuaire Militaire* of the League of Nations that the direct expenditure for army, navy and air-fleet over the whole world was:

In 1932	4.3 milliard American gold dollars
In 1933	4.5 milliard American gold dollars
In 1934	5.1 milliard American gold dollars
In 1935	5.6 milliard American gold dollars
In 1936	5.8 milliard American gold dollars
In 1937	7.1 milliard American gold dollars

This last figure equals 12 milliard paper dollars, 2.4 milliard pounds sterling, 357 milliard french francs and 21 milliard dutch guilders.

According to D. Keir in "Defence and Disarmament" the six big European powers spent 404 million pounds sterling on army, navy and air-fleet in 1931, and all states together 486 million pounds sterling, whilst a contributor to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* estimates this amount at 2.5 milliard gold dollars.

Of the amount of 7.1 milliard, 4.6 milliard falls upon Europe (in 1932 60% of the total expenditure for war and preparation for war fell, upon Europe; in 1937, as follows from the figures given above, 64.8%. The seven big powers spent 3 milliard American gold dollars in 1932, 5.4 milliard American gold dollars in 1937 on armaments, or 69.8 and 76% respectively of the world expenditure for this purpose. The other 57 states 1.3 and 1.7 milliard American gold dollars, in the years mentioned. The expenditures of the big powers has increased by 80% in these six years, that of the other states by 30.8%.)—PRESS SERVICE IAMB.

of the sinking of the U. S. gunboat Panay in the Chinese waters by the Japanese—they forbode of an identical sinister repetition of Woodrow Wilson's somersault in 1917 over the sinking of the Lusitania by German submarines.

Whilst it is still possible to call a spade a spade, one may as well question the sincerity of Mr. Roosevelt's above quoted statement.

Whose "national interests" are being threatened at present? Are they, per chance, those of the twelve million unemployed who subsist on government-hand-out charity? Or, are they those of the "fortunate" millions of employed who, according to Mr. Roosevelt's own statisticians, subsist on an inadequate standard of living? Or, are they those of the hundreds of thousands of homeless and destitute boys who are being kept up in the CCC camps?

The Panay gunboat is but one of the many U. S. gunboats circling the Chinese waters. Whose interests are they there to protect? Let us look at some fact and figures.

According to the current number of the "Yale Review," U. S. Capitalists had in 1935 investments amounting to \$387,000,000 in Japan and \$132,000,000 in China. Does this by any chance explain as to why the Neutrality Act so vigorously applied toward Loyalist Spain is so ineffectively applied to Japan's purchase of millions worth of munitions and provisions for carrying on its war upon China?

Britain's foreign secretary Eden hints at a secret understanding between U. S. and England, as Captain R. E. Ingersoll, of the War plans division of the Navy is secretly confiding with the British admiralty. Over in Singapore 3 U. S. light cruisers are participating in military ceremonies with the British Asiatic Fleet.

And to top everything—Mr. Roosevelt's administration assumes full responsibility for bringing about the defeat of the Ludlow War Referendum bill. (This is how Mr. Roosevelt proves his being the champion of the "common" and "forgotten" man. . . .)

The erstwhile cited facts and figures are self-revealing indeed. These explain many things as well as offering food for thought to those who are expected to do the dying and murdering.

Markets for exploiters of human labor has ever been the chief cause for every past war, still is the cause, and will ever remain so as long as exploitation and rulership of man over man prevail.

The armies and navies of every government are but created, kept up and perpetuated for the sole and only purpose of protecting not the national interests of their respective peoples who suffer want, misery, ill health, and deprivation, but of those small minorities of every country who rob the very wealth which the people create.

It is the interests of the malefactors of wealth, the nation's exploiters, that foment and bring on wars. The governments that in time of peace render legal protection to these exploiters of every land, through courts and jails, do the identical thing in war time through the armies and navies.

That the United States is no exception has been proven in 1917 by Woodrow Wilson, and it is now being proven once again by Franklin Delanore Roosevelt more than twenty years afterwards.

Sooner than many of us suspect, capitalism may give the secretive order for the beginning of a new World War that shall menace the lives of millions of us, if not actually the whole of humanity.

Will we allow ourselves to be misled and trapped anew as those of 1914-1918 did in the last World War? Or, will we have the courage to tell to the Roosevelts, the Hearsts and all the press liars, the Church liars and all the other liars: Gentlemen, we have no reason on earth to engage in murdering any fellow human being who never wronged or harmed us, least of all such whom we have even never met. Likewise, we have no interests worth being killed for or killing others. If you—gentlemen—are anxious to protect your interests, even to the extent of risking your lives, we shall not raise any kind of objection to your engaging in any war, except perhaps in utilizing such a grand opportunity to rid ourselves of your yoke, your exploitation, your rulership—over ourselves.

Your call upon us to a second World War will fully deserve our arising in the only real worthwhile war—the War for Social Liberation!

Marcus Graham

WAR

Molke, the most efficient slaughterer, the warrior genius of Germany, once gave the following answer to a peace delegation: "War is a divine institution; it is one of the world's sacred laws, it is holy. War wakes; Men retain all the characteristics of honor, abnegation, virtue, and courage... in a word, it nourishes those fine feelings in man which stop him from becoming a villainous materialist."

Thus, for men to march continually in crowds of hundred of thousands, learning nothing, reading nothing, useful to no one, living in filth, ransacking cities, burning villages, and ruining people; then to meet another tremendous agglomeration of human flesh, run upon them and cover the muddy ground with minced bodies, losing arms, legs, and dying in all corners of the battle field while parents, wives and babies starve to death, all this is called "avoiding to fall into the most villainous materialism."

Warriors are the ruin of the world. We fight against nature and ignorance, as well as against all kinds of obstacles in order to render our miserable life less pitiful. Scientists and humanitarians spend all their lives searching for the way to help and comfort their brothers. Absorbed in their work they accumulate discoveries that elevate the human mind, enlarge the range of science, and increase the extent of man's knowledge. But along comes war. And in six months the work of twenty years of effort, patience, and genius is destroyed.

Guy de Maupassant

(Translation by J. S.)

HAN RYNER

Our old comrade Han Ryner died in Paris at the age of 77. He was a perfect philosopher who never feared to affirm himself in meetings when called upon to defend human causes. With a particular force he affirmed the rights of the individual in society. Our great old man with his white beard had been named "the prince of story teller" because of the wise and penetrating form in which he expounded the immortal problems of the human worthiness.

The conspiracy of silence of which Han Ryner was a victim stopped the diffusion of his literary work. Among his books let us mention: "Le Père Doegene", "Le Sphix Rouge", "Les Paraboles Cyniques", "Le Cinqueme Evangile", "La Sagesse qui rit", "Le fils du Silence", etc.

The reading of his work in our hours of weariness gives us a better knowledge of feelings in man's actions.

With an emotional thought for the old philosopher we realize that his example dictates us to follow his teaching in the fight for right, freedom and tolerance for the individual.

L. T.

(Trans. from "Le Reveil" by J. S.)

MAN!

A Monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

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For the First Time Translated into English

DOES GOD EXIST?

By SEBASTIEN FAURE

Ten Cents Per Copy Obtainable through MAN!

ANARCHY—AS VIEWED BY JUDGE AND ATTORNEY

JUDGE YANKWICH'S OPINION IN THE MARCUS GRAHAM CASE

The defendant, Robert Parsons, (to whom we shall refer as Marcus Graham, his favorite pseudonym) claims to be a native of Montreal, Canada. He is, according to his own admission in court, a philosophical anarchist. He is a writer and the editor of an anarchist publication MANI. Under the name of Marcus Graham, he edited in 1929 "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry." During his career as a writer and participant in labor and other controversies, he has also used the name of Robert Parsons, Fred S. Graham, and Shoel Marcus.

He was arrested on April 25, 1919, upon a warrant of arrest issued on the same day by the Secretary of Labor, and which charged that he was an alien anarchist; that he disbelieved in all organized government; that he was an opponent of all organized government; that he was a person likely to become a public charge at the time of his entry, and that he entered without inspection.

After a hearing, at which he declined to answer questions concerning his birth and his right to be in the United States, a warrant for his deportation to Canada was issued by the Secretary of Labor on November 13, 1919. Canada refused to take him on the ground that there was no proof of his Canadian citizenship. He continued on bail for a time. On February 21, 1921, he was arrested and detained by the immigration authorities. He was released on \$1,000 bail on August 16, 1921. The bond was exonerated on the following day. On July 24, 1930, he was arrested at Yuma, Arizona, and imprisoned for a week.

After a hearing at Los Angeles, the Department of Labor, on November 15, 1930, cancelled the warrant of arrest dated July 26, 1930, and the warrant of deportation subsequently issued.

On October 6, 1937, he was again arrested, after an authorization to reopen the case. At the hearing held subsequently, he refused to answer any questions relating to his nativity, and his right to be and remain in the United States.

On November 23, 1937, upon petition of the United States Attorney for the Southern District of California showing the refusal, I issued an order (8 U.S.C.A. Sec. 152) requiring Graham to appear before an immigration inspector on December 6, 1937, and "then and there produce his birth certificate, and his passports for entry into the United States, and any other papers and documents that he may have touching his citizenship and his birthplace and his emigration to and immigration into the United States of America," and that he "then and there testify before the said immigration inspector and answer such questions as may there be submitted to him touching his birthplace, his entry into the United States, his citizenship, and his right to be and remain in the United States."

Graham appeared but declined to answer any of the questions asked.

The facts relating to the unfairness throughout the proceedings cannot be inquired into in this proceeding. We are not dealing with a final order of deportation. We cannot, when a complete administrative scheme has been set up for the determination of certain matters, review it until the final stage is reached. The remedy of reviewing the arbitrariness in this case is still available to the alien, should the immigration officers, after the completion of the present inquiry, either attempt to enforce the old warrant or issue a new one. Should the Government attempt to execute the old warrant, then the inquiry of fairness will extend to all the proceedings from the beginning to the present time.

The old warrant has become functus officio, it not having been executed within a reasonable time and no excuse for the long delay appearing.

As there has been no final order of deportation, and no attempt to execute the old deportation order,—in other words, absent an order which has administrative finality,—the question of the fairness of the hearings preceding the present proceedings is not before the Court. Nor is the right to free speech or freedom to profess religious, political or economic ideals of one's own choosing involved here. This I have had occasion to point out repeatedly during the course of these proceedings. The constitutional guarantees of free worship and free expression apply to residents, either citizens or aliens who are lawfully in the United States. But an alien seeking admission to the United States must not profess the heterodox doctrine of anarchy, to the adherents of which the Government has seen fit to deny admission. (8 U.S.C.A. 137.) This is a congressional fiat in the exercise of the right of sovereignty which no court can disregard. And that it is within the Constitution is undisputed. As said Turner v. Williams (1904) 199 U. S. 279, 292, 294:

"It is of course, true that if an alien is not permitted to enter this country, or, having entered contrary to law, is expelled, he is in fact cut off from worshipping or speaking or publishing or petitioning in the country, but that is merely because of his exclusion therefrom. He does not become one of the people to whom these things are secured by our Constitution by an attempt to enter forbidden by law. To appeal to the Constitution is to concede that this is a land governed by that supreme law, and as under it the power to exclude has been determined to exist, those who are excluded cannot assert the rights in general obtaining in a

Judge Leon R. Yankwich, the "liberal" judge who has sentenced Marcus Graham to six months' imprisonment, in order to aid the immigration authorities in their attempt to exile him and to stifle MANI has demanded of The Open Forum, organ of the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, that it publish his Opinion in the case since it published Graham's talk in court. The Open Forum complied with Judge Yankwich's request in its issue of February 19, 1938. It also printed a very able reply by A.C.L.U. Counsel A. L. Wirin, and a very fitting editorial comment by its editor Clinton J. Taft.

We herewith present the salient points of Judge Yankwich's decision, the reply of attorney Wirin and the editorial of The Open Forum.

MANI

land to which they do not belong as citizens or otherwise.

"Appellant's contention really comes to this, that the act is unconstitutional so far as it provides for the exclusion of an alien because he is an anarchist.

"The argument seems to be that, conceding that Congress has the power to shut out any alien, the power nevertheless does not extend to some aliens, and that if the act includes all alien anarchists, it is unconstitutional, because some anarchists are merely political philosophers, whose teachings are beneficial rather than otherwise.

"If the word 'anarchists' should be interpreted as including aliens whose anarchistic views are professed as those of political philosophers innocent of evil intent it would follow that Congress was of opinion that the tendency of the general exploitation of such views is so dangerous to the public weal that aliens who hold and advocate them would be undesirable additions to our population, whether permanently or temporarily, whether many or few, and, in the light of previous decisions, the act, even in this aspect, would not be unconstitutional, or as applicable to any alien who is opposed to all organized government.

"We are not to be understood as deprecating the vital importance of freedom of speech and of the press, or as suggesting limitations on the spirit of liberty, in itself unconquerable, but this case does not involve those considerations."

Dated this 14th day of January, 1938.

LEON R. YANKWICH,

U. S. District Judge.

• • •

A.C.L.U. COUNSEL A. L. WIRIN ANALYZES JUDGE YANKWICH'S DECISION

(Because of the technical nature of Judge Yankwich's decision in the Graham case I have asked Attorney A. L. Wirin, who represented Graham, to analyze the opinion.—Editor.)

The editor of the OPEN FORUM has requested me to comment upon Judge Leon R. Yankwich's opinion in the Graham case. I yield to this request with great reluctance because I have such strong convictions about the thoroughgoing injustice, and utter lack of deliberation and humaneness of his decision, that, perhaps, it were wise to keep them to myself. Besides, Judge Yankwich and I are friends; we have, heretofore, from public platforms, and in law articles, used the same vigorous and fighting words about the "Constitution" and "civil rights," and "lawless enforcement of the law." I now claim that the Judge, when an opportunity presented itself to breathe life into the Constitution's guarantee of freedom; to give reality to civil rights by protecting them, and to halt official lawlessness, by refusing to become a party to the unconscionable persecution of an inoffensive idealist because of political opinions, this liberal judge handed down a judgment as harsh and illiberal as might have come from the pen of the most reactionary judge on the Federal bench at Los Angeles.

I take issue with Judge Yankwich on three fundamental phases of the case:

1. The judge says that freedom of speech is not involved. I say that the sole reason for the present deportation proceeding against Graham is because of his political opinions, and hence his freedom of speech is not only "involved," but denied to him.

2. The Court announces that the major legal problem in the proceeding is whether or not an alien may be required to answer questions put to him by the immigration authorities, and be held in contempt of court for his refusal to do so after being directed so to do by an order of court. My con-

*Judge Yankwich is attempting to hide his own reactionary decision behind the one rendered in 1904 against John Turner, and from which decision he quotes at such length. It is in itself the most condemnatory utterance that one could invoke against the reactionary Judges of 1904, and particularly so against Judge Yankwich himself who desires to be known as a "liberal!"

Marcus Graham no less than John Turner has been attempting to appeal to the Constitution. It is the liberal elements who believe in those civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution that have rallied to the defence of John Turner in 1904, and it is similar elements who have rallied to the defence of Marcus Graham today. The anarchist, hounded and attacked by the Government, knows only too well that constitutional rights are mere scraps of paper when they concern the fate of Anarchists. And what stronger proof of substantiating this is there needed than the decisions of the courts against John Turner in 1904, and in the year of 1938 against Marcus Graham?

If Anarchists consent in allowing civil liberty elements to defend them it is only for the purpose of attempting to keep the dirty hands of the law off themselves, if this is at all possible. As a matter of fact—Marcus Graham refused to file a suit against the lawless immigration officials who raided his home and the office of MANI—just for the very reason that as an anarchist he would not appeal to any courts for the rendering of justice.

The sole issue in the John Turner case as in the Marcus Graham case is the one of Freedom of Thought—the hypocritical quotations behind which Judge Yankwich is attempting to hide himself—notwithstanding.

—MANI

tention is that the primary legal issue is whether an alien may be persecuted by the Immigration Bureau over a period of 18 years because of his political views and his editing an innocuous idealist magazine, and then be jailed for his refusal to be a party to such an unjust and illegal proceeding, by furnishing evidence against himself, so that the Immigration Authorities may be able to execute an eighteen year-old, (and admittedly invalid) warrant of deportation.

3. And thirdly, the Judge suggests that his decision in jailing Graham is required by the law and by the precedents. In my opinion there is not only no binding precedent for the Judge's decision, on the facts in this case, but the Judge created a new (and unjust law) in order to justify the imprisonment of Graham.

Let us consider the third, and technical phase of the case, first. Lee Stanton and I, as A.C.L.U. Counsel for Graham, argued that the particular Section of the Immigration Law, under which the criminal contempt charge was being prosecuted, applied only to those instances in which the Government sought to exclude an alien who sought entry into the United States, and not when the Government attempted to deport an alien, after he had entered the country and acquired a residence here. It happens that the Immigration Statute is, in effect, divided into two sections: one dealing with exclusion of aliens—the other, with deportation. There is no provision in the latter section for contempt proceedings; there is in the former. In order to send Graham to jail it was necessary for the Judge to rule, as he did, that Congress had put provisions for contempt "in the wrong place." Having decided that the Congress of the United States had made a mistake, the Judge proceeded to rewrite the law for Congress. Thus Judge Yankwich not only "interpreted" the law; he, in effect, rewrote it. In doing so, he followed no binding precedents. It is true that one court—and only one—had made a similar ruling. That was the Third Circuit Court of Appeals (in Philadelphia), the most reactionary Federal Court in the United States. Judge Yankwich of the Southern District of California, is bound only by the decisions of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (in San Francisco) and by the United States Supreme Court. Moreover, in the case decided by the Philadelphia Court, the alien was not being held for deportation because of his political opinions, nor was there any claim, as there is by Graham, that the alien's Constitutional rights had been violated by unjust persecution and unofficial lawlessness. Accordingly, Judge Yankwich may not properly find refuge, or comfort, as do many weak judges, in the thought that he merely "followed the law."

I turn now to the second issue. Friends of civil liberties will be deeply concerned by Judge Yankwich's statement that freedom of speech is not in issue. If this were true, neither the A.C.L.U. nor I, as its attorney, would be defending Graham. As a matter of fact, it is the heart of the case.

Were it not for his political opinions, Graham would not now be under arrest by the Immigration Department (now for the fourth time); he would not be facing a six months' jail sentence meted out to him by a liberal judge; and there would be no deportation efforts against him. The sole present basis and reason for all of these proceedings is because he is a philosophical anarchist. Years ago there were claims by the Labor Department that he entered the United States unlawfully. But years ago the Department itself dismissed these charges as false and groundless.

In an effort to defend his position on this issue, the Judge is unfortunate in the United States Supreme Court decision he cites as authority. Everyone knows that in recent years the Supreme Court has been a better friend of civil liberties in general, and of freedom of speech in particular, than it had been both before and shortly after the World War. The Judge makes no reference to the present liberal decisions of the Supreme Court: he relies upon an opinion rendered in 1904, thirty-four years ago. . . . The case reflects not the liberal, but the repressive spirit, and is in the same class as the many decisions by the Supreme Court during the post-war hysteria against Communists, to which the Supreme Court then became a party.

Happily a majority of the members of the Supreme Court now no longer mouth fine phrases about freedom of speech, and deny it in practice; now the Supreme Court gives life and reality to the Bill of Rights by releasing political prisoners, like Angelo Herndon, and condemning official lawlessness, as it did in the Mooney case.

And this brings us to what I deem to be the central legal, moral and civil liberties issue in the case; what Judge Yankwich rules out of the proceeding, summarily and completely. I refer to Graham's claim of persistent persecution and official lawlessness by the Immigration authorities. His arrest and re-arrest, under an old warrant issued in 1919, are now well known. What Judge Yankwich does not mention in his opinion is that Graham in 1919, as in 1921, and in 1930, on the occasion of his every arrest, refused to answer questions concerning his political opinions or the country of his birth; that neither a brutal third degree in 1921, by New York City's Iniquitous "Bomb Squad," nor imprisonment for six months by the Immigration Department itself at that time, succeeded in coercing this stubborn man of conscience to be a witness against himself; that altho the Government might have filed contempt proceedings eighteen years ago, it waited until 1937 to do so. That in 1934, subscribers to the publication MANI, of which Graham was and is editor, were lawlessly hounded by immigration inspectors to cancel their subscriptions; that when Graham was imprisoned again by the immigration inspectors in Los Angeles in 1937, in the course of the present proceedings his home was searched and ransacked without a search warrant, and in defiance of the guarantees of the United States Constitution. Into this shocking record of official lawlessness, the Judge refused to look. He ruled: "The facts relating to the unfairness through-

All those interested to aid materially in the legal work that is being carried on by counsels for the American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of the Marcus Graham case should forward all monies to:

MARCUS GRAHAM FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COM.
Room 524, 129 West Second Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM THROUGH THE AGES

SOCRATES: (469-399 B. C.)

No person on earth has the right to tell another man what he should believe or to deprive him of the right to think as he pleases . . . people must be given a chance to discuss all questions with complete freedom and without interference on the part of the authorities. . . . As long as my conscience, as long as the still small voice within me, bids me go forth and show men the true road to reason, I shall continue to buttonhole whomsoever I happen to meet and I shall say what is on my mind, regardless of consequences.

HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON in "Tolerance."

I refer to the Encyclopedia Britannica. . . . There on page XXVI stands written: "Tolerance (from latin tolerance — to endure.) The allowance of freedom of action or judgment to other people, the patient and unprejudiced endurance of dissent from one's own or the generally received course or view." . . . violent methods of suppression of the printed or spoken word has never yet done the slightest good. . . . I would let every one print whatever he liked. . . . Hence I would say, let them talk and let them write. If they have anything to say that is good, we ought to know it, and if not, they will soon be forgotten.

Tolerance is like liberty. No one ever gets it merely by asking for it. No one keeps it except by the exercise of eternal care and vigilance. . . . If we agree to accept these promises as true, it follows that the amount of tolerance in any given country must be in direct proportion to the degree of individual liberty enjoyed by the majority of its inhabitants.

For fear, I repeat it, is at the bottom of all intolerance. No matter what form or shape a persecution may take, it is caused by fear and its very vehemence is indicative of the degree of anguish experienced by those who erect the gallows or throw fresh logs upon the funeral pyre. . . . Man, when not under the influence of fear, is strongly inclined to be righteous and just. . . . Thus far he has had very few opportunities to practice these two virtues. . . . The day will come when tolerance shall be the rule, when intolerance shall be a myth. . . . But it will come, and it will follow close upon the first true victory of which history shall have any record, the triumph of man over his own fear.

THOMAS PAINE

It is dangerous in any government to say to a nation, Thou shalt not read. This is now done in Spain, and was formerly done under the old government of France, but it served to procure the downfall of the latter, and is subverting that of the former, and it will have the

same tendency in all countries, because Thought, by some means or other, is gotten abroad in the world, and cannot be restrained through reading may.

LIN YUTANG: The Importance of Living, 1937.

But, as I have suggested, the most important consequence of this new posture was the emancipation of the hands for turning things about and examining them inside out, as symbolized in the pastime of chasing them by monkeys. From this chasing of lice, the development of the spirit of free inquiry into Knowledge had its start. Today human knowledge still consists very largely in chasing after some form or other of lice that is bothering human society. An instinct of curiosity has been developed which compels the human mind to explore freely and playfully into all kinds of subjects and social diseases. This mental activity has nothing to do with seeking food; it is an exercise of the human spirit pure and simple. . . . And this is the characteristic of all worthwhile human learning and human scholarship, an interest in things in themselves and a playful, idle desire to know them as they are, and not because the knowledge directly or immediately helps in feeding our stomach. . . . This I regard as characteristically human and contributing very largely to human dignity. Knowledge, or the process of seeking knowledge, is a form of play; it is certainly so with all scientists and inventors who are worth anything and who truly accomplish worthwhile results.

It is for this reason that I hate censors and all agencies and forms of government that try to control our thought. I cannot but believe that such a censor or

such a ruler is willfully or unintentionally insulting human intelligence. If the liberty of thought is the highest activity of the human mind, then the suppression of that liberty must be the most degrading to us as human beings. Euripides defined the slave as a man who has lost his liberty of thought or opinion. Every autocracy is a factory for turning out gorgeous Euripidean slaves. Don't we have fine examples of them, East and West, in the twentieth century and at the very home of culture? Every autocratic government no matter in what form, therefore, is intellectually retrograde. We have seen it in the Middle Ages in general, and in the Spanish Inquisition in particular. Short-sighted politicians or clergymen may think that uniformity of belief and thought is always depressing and degrading to the human character. Such autocrats must have a great contempt for the people in general when they do not confine themselves to ordering a nation's external conduct, but proceed also to regiment the people's inner thoughts and beliefs. They have a naive assurance that human minds will put up with this uniformity and that they will like or dislike a book or a concerto or a moving picture exactly as the official propagandist or chief of publicity bureau tells them to. Every autocratic government has tried to confuse literature with propaganda, art with politics, anthropology with patriotism, and religion with worship of the living ruler.

It simply can't be done, and if the controllers of thought go too far in running against human nature itself, they are thereby sowing the seeds of their own downfall. As Mencius put it, "If the ruler considers the people as blades of grass, then the people will consider their ruler as a robber or enemy." There is no greater robber in this world than he who robs us of our liberty of thought. Deprived of that, we might as well go down on all fours, call the whole biped experiment of walking on two legs a mistake, and revert to our earlier posture of at least some 30,000 years ago. In Mencian terms, therefore, the people will resent this robber as much as the latter despises the people, and exactly in the same proportion. The more the robber takes away, the more the people hate him. And as nothing is so precious and personal and intimate as our intellectual moral or religious beliefs, no greater hatred can be aroused in us than by the man who deprives us of the right to believe what we believe. But such short-sighted stupidity is natural in an autocrat, because I believe such autocrats are always intellectually retrograde, and the resilience of human character and unconquerable liberty of the human conscience always spring back and hit the autocratic ruler with a vengeance.

THE END

"Defenders of Freedom" Pamphlet

The type, of this series on "Defenders of Freedom Through the Ages", now concluded, has been saved, as also the speech of Marcus Graham in Court before being sentenced. These two things, together with a History of the Four Years Persecution of MANI, will soon appear in a pamphlet. Additional funds to make possible the early publication of this pamphlet are urgently needed.

Contributors to the Pamphlet Fund

Cash on hand from previous Pamphlet Fund	\$11.50
Contributors at Los Angeles Gathering	10.00
Robert T. Kerling	5.00
Santa Panta	2.00
Elliot White	1.00

Total on hand \$29.50

out the proceedings cannot be inquired into in this proceeding."

In order to arrive at this conclusion, Judge Yankwich, in my opinion, completely misinterpreted, and in some respects misstated, certain essential facts in the case.

In his written opinion, the Judge states that there was "no attempt (by the Department of Labor) to execute the old deportation order." Let us look at the record: In the official minutes of the opening hearing by the Labor Department, after Graham's latest arrest in Los Angeles, we find this statement by the Inspector representing the Government and conducting the hearing: "On November 18, 1919, departmental warrant 54616-163, directing your deportation to Canada, was issued and is still in effect. This warrant directs your deportation —." This official record which was before the Judge, discloses further that that hearing was held under that old order of deportation and solely for the purpose of enforcing it.**

In the early stages of the trial, the Judge intimated that he would not lend his aid to what he termed this "stale" warrant of deportation; he protested the injustice of such a warrant dangling over a victim's head like a sword of Damocles. He said: "otherwise a warrant could be kept over the head of an alien and if at some time he does something the authorities don't like, they just bring it out of the old closet and rattle the rusty warrant over his head and say

**It is rather strange that Judge Yankwich failed to quote in his Opinion the following statements of his that appear though in the Court Record:

"IF THEY WOULD INFORM ME THAT THEY ARE SEEKING TO EXECUTE THE ORDER OF DEPORTATION, THE OLD ORDER . . . THE STATUS OF WHAT IS GOING ON WOULD BE BEFORE ME, BUT THAT IS NOT THE SITUATION." (P. 48)

Attorney Wirin has just given but one proof of the fact that the re-opening of the case was but for aiding in the execution of the 1919 warrant. Further excerpts from the transcript of hearings given to Graham are even more emphatic in challenging the integrity of Judge Yankwich's assertions. On Page 30, transcript of hearing held on Nov. 22, 1937, Judson F. Shaw, Inspector in charge of the local immigration office, stated:

"THE CASE HAD ALREADY BEEN ADJUDGED BY THE DEPARTMENT IN SO FAR AS DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS WERE CONCERNED."

On page 51, transcript of hearing held on Nov. 23, 1937, Albert del Guercia, district immigration inspector stated: "WELL, NOW, MR. WIRIN, ISN'T IT A FACT THAT YOU HAVE BEEN FURNISHED WITH COPIES OF ALL OF THE EVIDENCE AND COPIES OF ALL HEARINGS ACCORDED THIS ALIEN WHICH RESULTED IN THE ISSUANCE OF THE WARRANT OF DEPORTATION?"

Judge Yankwich had before him placed the full transcripts from which the above quotations are taken. He cannot plead ignorance of them. The excerpts just given, and that of Mr. Wirin, prove that the sole purpose for reopening the case was in order to carry out the 1919 warrant of deportation and this was therefore the sole issue upon which Judge Yankwich could and should have acted.

MANI

they are going to deport him." (As a matter of fact, Graham did do something the authorities did not like; he edited "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry"; he publishes the anarchist magazine, MANI.)

The Judge admits: "the old warrant has become functus officio, (dead) it not having been executed within a reasonable time, and no excuse for the long delay appearing."

In defiance of all the evidence in the case (and the evidence was not disputed) the Judge then proceeds to rule "the present inquiry is a new inquiry." This he did in order to avoid even considering the charges of unfair conduct by the immigration officials.

If this were a new inquiry, then the authorities are guilty of another lawless act in arresting Graham in the current case without a legal warrant of arrest. For the only warrant they had was the old one of 1919, which the Judge declared void.

Judge Yankwich cites many decisions as authority for his conclusion that it was improper for him to inquire into the fairness of the Immigration Department. Not one of these musty precedents (one of them is dated 1892) supports his position; for none of them was a case in which the government sought to jail an alien for contempt of court.

In any event, and irrespective of what may be found in the law books, (and it is always easy for a lawyer or Judge to find language in the books that seems to justify an opinion arrived at) one looks in vain through Judge Yankwich's decision for words of high spirit, of sensitive humanness, of deep understanding, of prophetic fearlessness.

Judge George Cosgrave, a brother judge of Leon Yankwich, who speaks not to the multitudes from public rostrums, and who has no reputation for liberalism, did not hesitate to condemn vigorously and forth-rightly unfair conduct by immigration officials, when they held an alien incommunicado until he confessed. This conservative judge released that alien from further persecution, declaring "freedom must be accorded to the humblest stranger within our gates, equally with the most distinguished citizen of the land." Liberal Federal Judge George W. Anderson, who is now a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, found no difficulty in freeing aliens from persecution and lawlessness against them on account of their political views, during the post-war anti-radical hysteria and the A. Mitchell Palmer raids.

Unlawful arrests without warrant are not only lawless, they are crimes, so are searches without search warrants. To Judge Yankwich this lawlessness was "immaterial."

Here is what a liberal justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Brandeis, had to say about such denials of civil liberties by federal officials:

"Decency, security, liberty alike demand that government officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct that are commands to the citizen. In a government of laws, the existence of the government will be imperiled if it

fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good and for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a law-breaker, it breeds contempt for law. . . . To declare that in the administration of criminal law the end justifies the means . . . would bring terrible retribution."

It may be that Judge Yankwich can find support in the dead letter of the law for his jailing of a stubborn fearless idealist; but I cannot persuade myself that by his judgment and sentence he has kept faith with the idealism of the liberal tradition in the law nor followed in the footsteps of his (and my) prophet of justice—Mr. Justice Brandeis.

—A. L. Wirin

JUDGE YANKWICH DISAPPOINTS LIBERALS IN GRAHAM RULING

This issue of THE OPEN FORUM is taken up principally with printing the decision of Federal Judge Leon Yankwich in the Marcus Graham case. The decision is a pretty long one and rather technical for the layman, but we hope that our readers will peruse it carefully nevertheless.

Judge Yankwich has long been rated a liberal. Before he was elevated to the bench he used to make speeches and write articles eloquently pleading for due regard to the great liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

So when the Graham case was sent to his court we had great hopes that the much-persecuted editor would at last receive a square deal.

Judge Yankwich encouraged that hope further when he admitted from the bench that the old deportation order issued in 1919 had become "functus officio," which means literally "out of office"—that is, no longer effective, because the government had been unreasonably slow in executing it. Moreover, Judge Yankwich knew how ruthlessly Graham had been treated for 18 years—arrested four times, imprisoned and beaten up by police officers, his guarantee of immunity from illegal search and seizure violated, etc.

We had a right therefore to expect that in such a case Judge Yankwich would lean over backward to follow the best traditions of liberalism—the example set by men like Justices Holmes and Brandeis—and would rule that Graham had suffered enough already at the hands of the authorities, that the old order was void and that a brand new beginning must be made before he would entertain charges of contempt against Graham.

Instead of that, Judge Yankwich followed the practice of the most reactionary judges. He allowed the immigration officials to have their way, and sent Graham to jail.

We must confess that we are sorely disappointed in the way Judge Yankwich has handled this case. In our opinion he has muffed a great opportunity to correct a monumental wrong.

—Clinton J. Taft, editor The Open Forum

ART and LITERATURE

THE EARTH

A Survey Report with Recommendations

And I, John of the Gregorian calendar, looking hard
and long at the Cosmos,
Saw an ancient wrong gradation breaking down before
the accusations of the just;
Saw the Stone Age of Behavior darken out
And an Ideal (a haze at first like our own solid globe
erewhile)
Assume outline and hue and substance,
Engaging Earth with the precision of a sculptured
garland,
Transfiguring the face of Her I Love.

I saw the unlike groups and races, the estranged and
the remote,
Shed their uncouth illusions of authority and rule,
Conquest and self-aggrandizement, difference and
distance,
And form without surrender of identity the Orbic
All-in-One
Their slogan, "Welfare Spread in Widest Commonalty,"
And their password, "Brother."

I saw the Homogenii (the tea-minded after-men mis-
named the meek—foretold as the inheritors)
Making the Earth their home, their home a heaven.

FINDINGS

PHYSIOGRAPHY

This young and swift electron known as Earth
is fairly representative,
Is peer to any courting choric sister;
Equal in natural advantage, in the intensity
and range of vital urge,
Presenting sunwards in comparison a freight
of bright phenomena.

Divisions . . .

The region of the Line rears its dense
tangled fantasies of heat and moisture,
Or stretches into desert sand,
And shudders where the typhoon twists
billow and palm.

The Middle Zones in turn rekindle to the
breath of Springtime
And bring their yields to harvest, grain
and fruit, amid slow-moving pageantries
of shine and shadow, foliage and flowers,
Climbing with frost the year's end.
Within the Circles transient greens and reds
infringe on polar gleams.

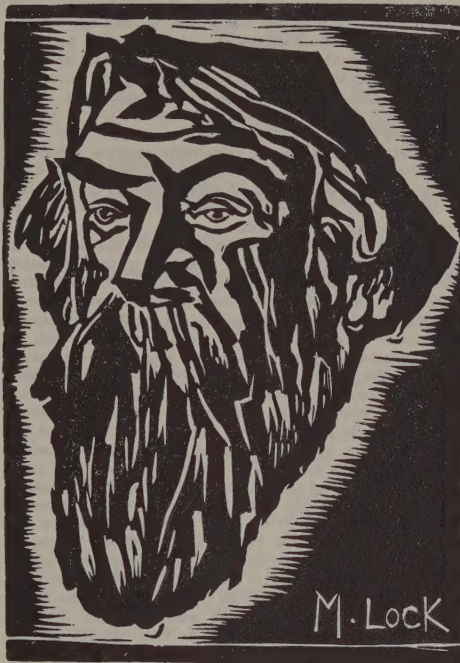
Inhabitants . . .

MAN

Mankind slowly evolves.
Kingeraft no longer a divine or even healthful
calling.
True action toward Democracy not more than
tentative:
All revolution up-to-date a mere exchange of
tyrannies—reform, its trifling ape, the
substitution of one nuisance for another.
No Thule is unvisited, no past remains undug,
no far immensity unscanned,
So man turns to the near, the now and the
minute.
Science invades the atom, peradventure to en-
compass and lay hold of that as yet un-
shackled acting thing.
Man's body—little better than a winking bubble
in the flowing bowl of God, and yet a mir-
ror of His universe, a microcosm in itself—
Doth bear of late the brunt of serious inspec-
tion.
Increasing interest in art, the artist, person-
ality, and the two-division mind.

GENERAL CONDITIONS

Revolting tribal gods and monstrous fetishes
at par;
Jehovah, Satan, Mammon, Moloch, Belial,
et al, imposing much on human igno-
rance, exacting their long toll of blood and
tears.
Young heads, the round world over, being stuff-
ed with State ideas for the clapping on of
helmets in due time.
A recent shambles—spreading ruin, pestilence
and famine—adds desperate fear to na-
tional hatreds, lively germs of greater wars
to come.
Exploitation showing wonderful advancement
in technique—whether due to general de-
cay in common sense or to perfection of
mechanical devices for relaying propagan-
da, not readily determined.
Labor asserts itself with opportune aggression,
its quarrel with the master-class assuming
the proportions of a threat.
The rich still grind the faces of the poor and
grind them small;
The poor cry out between boom periods, spells
of resignation, and poultices of equal op-
portunity,
But imitate, as far as possible, their grand op-
pressors, fondly hoping that someday
themselves will make the grade.



CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD

A PROPHECY

People, some people, with no patriotism, are going crazy
over things they are finding in tombs in Egypt, and Crete, a
civilization of five thousand years ago. Wait till you see our
tombs five thousand years from now—real American tombs,
made by General Motors, or maybe by the Consolidated All-
American Tomb Corporation; full of poison gas bombs, de-
structive shocks, income tax returns, quart flasks and cigarette
cases, and all things most precious to the dead. There will be
beautiful busts of Sir Henry Ford, Hoover, Coolidge, Doheny,
Sinclair, and others of our great, so natural in real brass
nicely coated with a lovely sewer-gas green patina. The
archaeologists of that distant future will be sure to think
they were our gods—a good joke on the archaeologists—no,
on us. We may have tombs also with most precious pictured
and sculptured walls showing our spiritual life, splendid
decorations Death and the Ages have been glad to preserve:
Ku-Klux Klansmen in nighties on a night ride, policemen
beating up communists, prohibitionists smashing great am-
phorae of wine or emptying barrels of beer into the streets.
The archaeologists will wonder what funny religion or ritual
all this was. Some shrewd archaeologist will give grave
reasons for believing it is a visible portrayal of a curious in-
sanity. Perhaps the veil of some five thousand years will be
lifted from a buried wall showing a sad, strained figure on a
cross, and around it Methodists, Baptists, Catholics and
Christian Scientists, and many more, all with their arms
around each other's necks, not throttling each other, but
loving each other, and looking up to the figure on the cross
in adoration and joy. Of course you understand this is all
imagination of five thousands years hence.

CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD

As money is the god always in vogue, so is
machinery the age's splendid fetish;
Hailed as deliverer, it rides our well-pleased
bovine kind like some enormous gadfly,
spurring it onward to no goal, except
perhaps the manufacture and the sale of
speedier and more complex machines.
Out of the confusion piles up preposterous
private wealth, exceeded only by the for-
tunes of monopolists of natural resources,
rendering even its possessors frantic with
stupidity.
The devotees in bulk are guaranteed industrial
serfdom, debt, and nerves undone.
This will prevail until the reservoirs of energy
are tapped direct, which may take cen-
turies four or five.

BRIEF INVOCATION TO THE SUN

O Flaming Core:
Oven of ovens, hurling the wherewithal:
Engenderer of being and desire:
Proton, and trysting place of the inward and
outward compulsions:
Balance and drivewheel of the cycles:
Clasper of self and the voltaic brood:
What of the Earth and other midges dancing
in thy train,
Shouldst thou thy music cease?
Sway our Homeland and hold her as thou hast
from time's beginning,
Lest she should slip her ring of light and
warmth to wander in the void;
Shine on her long in undiminished levels that
man may find himself and trail no more
the slime whence he arose;
Allow him to learn that mutual aid, as written
large in nature for the higher vertebrates,
must curb the anti-social trends of old and

so conserve our margins of survival;
And time to realize that justice calls for equal-
ness as insight for compassion:
That both the lordling and the slave will go
when the true man arrives;
That independence, though a needed foil to
tyranny, is nothing in itself, like isolation
meaning naught to other than a dragon
or an oaf;
That happiness springs from within—a foun-
tain rising only to drench others!
That genius, sweeping to the highest, can be
made a common adjuget, servant to the
commonweal;
That death is final and that life thereby be-
comes more precious;
That man deprived of truth is but a brute
chained to a treadmill—an eyeless bulk
in Gaza;
That life consorts with joy in quest of truth
no less than in attainment.

RESOLUTIONS RECOMMENDED FOR ADOPTION BY MAN

Whereas, the Earth is solid ground beneath
our feet, our self-renewing base and ever-
present fulcrum;
Whereas, the Earth is true, not only true but
seemly, more to be desired than any idle
isle of somewhere;
Whereas, the Earth is worthy, and we shall not
possess her fully till ourselves are worthy;
Whereas, the Earth, our understanding and
capacious mother, has room for all, posi-
tion in the sun and inexhaustible subsist-
ence;
Whereas, the Earth is all there is or need be
after soothing lore and wishful thought
have served their purposes;
Whereas, the Earth, our natal gift from nature
(like the miracle of being) is repeated
never;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED:

That we, accepting Earth as beautiful in its
sufficiency, shall joyously reverse the ver-
dict that our habitat is but a savage den,
a vale of tears, a sojourn for the weak and
afflicted;
That we, the little men but many hence the
mighty, shall combine to end all wars, de-
pressions and oppressions by stamping out
their makers, and by dealing soberly with
one another, man or nation, members all
of one large family;
That we shall root out from our inmost minds
the predatory greed and ruthless individ-
ualism which would seek a lonely satisfac-
tion or so-called success upon the ruins of
our social structure;
That we shall ponder and evaluate our race-
preservers, social truth and social justice,
with the passion of the scientist, despising
not his patience with results;
That we shall move upon a happiness less in-
fantile and ego-tainted, less archaic and
inflexible, more evenly and widely spread
on this same orb, on the sure-flying magic
carpet of the here and now;
That we shall place the laurels of our appro-
bation on the brows of mortals who eluci-
date the meaning of the Earth, who com-
prehend (and make us see) the pathos and
appeal of human life on any level and the
dignity of human toil, however humble;
That we shall sluff off spurious slogans and
the brainline of misleaders present and
to come, outgrow all childish cries for
succor from Above or charms against
thrusters from Below, and settle down on
our own ground to work out for redemp-
tion;
That we shall modestly proclaim the integra-
tion with the Earth of our new hope for
mundane unity and progress, call atten-
tion to the relativity of human effort on
the upper slopes of vision, and point out
the pure necessity, would we survive as
nations of the Earth, of giving up the old
and deadly poisons, pride and hatred, for
the energizing salt and blessed savor of
goodwill and peace;
That we shall recognize the poet-seer as our
high priest of harmony (the cause and the
effect of love and beauty) and regard his
dream of good as the foreshadowing of a
practicality;
That we shall turn forthwith and face our
racial destiny, not wait a thousand years
to claim our own, should we endure so
long as grinders, yea, as grist for mills of
conflict or as vermin gassed and thinned
out in the aftermath of wars;
That firstly we shall form the ready handle for
the Head and Hammer whose constructive
strokes make robber barons rage and evil-
doers tremble, whose desire, however, is to
see what he foresaw—improved conditions
for us all within the limits of consideration
for our fellows.

E. E. S.

POPULAR FRONT CIVILIZATION IN MOROCCO

The influence of the world war did not pass by the Moroccans. Here as in the rest of the world of the colonial peoples the tremendous struggle of 1914 and following years gave a heavy blow to the prestige of the white rulers, the consequences of which have already made themselves felt everywhere, though they cannot be measured in their full extent yet.

When in 1912 the "most civilized country in Europe," which by-the-by tolerates the inscription "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" on its prisons, not to mention other barbarisms, appropriated Morocco, it was animated by intentions in no way different from the intentions of civilized and uncivilized countries in such circumstances. We know of no country that has reason to be proud of its colonial history, and France forms no exception to this rule.

When the Popular Front Government had only just begun, we pointed out already that nothing was to be expected from it for the colonial peoples, any more than from any other Government. The facts have proved us right. The experiences gained under the two Labor Governments in England have been completely confirmed by the two French Popular Front Governments: a capitalist and imperialist society can only be governed in accordance with capitalist and imperialist principles. What changes, is the phraseology. And so it was a Popular Front Government which had the doubtful honor of being the first government, under which in Morocco troops fired at the people on the occasion of a popular movement, just as it was under a Popular Front Government that Meknes saw a large part of its water supply cut off. Undoubtedly the Moroccans were naïve enough to believe in the specious promises of politicians, but at the same time that the fascist Franco granted liberty of the press to the Spanish Moroccans, 200 persons were arrested in anti-fascist French Morocco because they carried on agitation for this right. Of course this measure of Franco was pure opportunism, and he has meanwhile changed his attitude again, but after all liberty of the press is not a fascist exigency, though it is an essential democratic one. It need cause no surprise that, as Robert Louzon of La Revolution Proletarienne informs us, during the governments of Blum-Chautemps twice as many people were killed in Morocco as under all the other republican governments put together. For the Popular Front movements arouse desires among the oppressed, both white and colored, which they cannot fulfill—even if they would—without attacking the foundations of capitalism and colonialism. If they are kept to their word by the masses it cannot help ending in bloody strife, as has indeed been the case in Morocco.

How much attention is paid to the interests of the natives in French Morocco appears from the following account, which we have taken from La Revolution Proletarienne:

Meknes is a town of 60,000 inhabitants. These inhabitants obtained the water they need from the river Bou Fekrane, first part of the water was taken from the inhabitants of the native town to supply the European town, which had been built opposite the native one. Later on they regained the use of this water, but then they had to begin paying for it—contrary to the common law, according to which this water may not be sold. Although all kinds of inroads were made on the rights of the natives, the situation remained broadly the same till 1937, when one of the sources of the Bou Fekrane was entirely made public property, and the others for about one quarter. In this way the century-old property of Meknes was expropriated, and the French State could now do as it liked with the water sources—and did so. 20 litres of water a second were withdrawn from the town for the benefit of four European colonists, who each possessed about 100 hectares of land, equalling a quantity of water necessary for 10,000 inhabitants. In the summer a shortage of water arose. The market-gardeners of the suburb Zeitoum were in the worst predicament. They, who could only make their living by growing vegetables and fruit, were sometimes even without drinking-water. To bring about a change in this situation was a matter of life or death to them.

One respectful request after the other was tossed aside or answered by contempt and threats. From June to July delegation follows delegation, whilst it is discovered that two

other European colonists are tapping off water privately. The authorities make promises which lead to nothing. On the 11th of August the authorities hold a meeting and decide to give Meknes 38 litres water a second, so that together with the water of the Tagma-source it will get 100 litres per inhabitant and per day, whereas according to the expert Chardeaux it needs at least 200 litres. At the end of August the water-supply is at its lowest: in the mosques there is no water for the ablutions. A continually growing movement among the people results in the pasha and the chief of public works promising on the first of September that the demands of Meknes will be acceded to, and the water of the Bou Fekrane be kept for the town.

On the second of September, however, martial law is proclaimed in the town. Why? Petitions of the population had been answered by provocation by the authorities. Provocation on the part of the President, who leaves petitions of a town of 60,000 people unanswered for 2½ months; on the part of general Caillaud, who treats delegates with effrontery and calls them to account by way of the administration, with the result that a general closing of the shops takes place as a protest. Provocation on the part of the pasha, who threatens a delegate with imprisonment, if he continues to concern himself with the water-supply. On the part of the chief of public works, who, when a delegation of seven inhabitants of the town and 23 inhabitants of Zeitoum came to protest in August against the 38 litres of water decision, would only receive one delegate of the town and three of Zeitoum, and had one of the latter thrown out. On the 2nd of September, 1937, the town was surrounded by troops from 5 A.M., although the meeting of September 1st went off quietly. What happens? Five leading inhabitants of Meknes, who had taken a special interest in the matter of the water, were led before the pasha, and were sentenced to three months' imprisonment in less than no time, without even an accusation brought against them.

The end was gained: spontaneous closing of the shops, spontaneous, but peaceful, movement of protest. A procession forms, and goes on its way to the pasha. Arrived at the market place, which is full of merchants, women and children, for it is 9 o'clock in the morning, the procession is attacked by the legionaries, who shoot at the flying populace, mainly trying to escape through a narrow street. And whilst the Moroccans are forbidden to fetch away their dead and wounded—at three o'clock there were still wounded dying who had received no help at all—the European colonists offer beer and lemonade to the legionaries. There were at least thirteen killed, and the number of wounded was estimated at a hundred. Probably, however, the number killed was higher, as days afterwards missing persons were still being enquired for. (The French review Esprit speaks of 23 killed in its December-issue.—Ed. IAMB.)

As regards the water there is no essential change. Meknes receives more water—the quantity of water tapped off for the colonists has been reduced from 20 to 8 litres, furthermore water is also brought in from the European town, which disposes of 400 litres a day and per inhabitant. Promises were made for a better water-supply. But the five men sentenced on the 2nd of September remain under sentence and in prison. The centuries old right of the inhabitants of Meknes to their river has not been acknowledged. The authorities reserve the right to do what they like with its water. . . .

But Meknes does not stand alone. Hundreds of members of the Moroccan Party of Action, which was forbidden in March, 1937, have been arrested, and so far no evidence has been produced that they are guilty of the plot against the state of which they are accused. These arrests are connected with a movement which arose in the summer of 1937 and strives for liberty of the press, liberty of union and assembly, liberty to move about, liberty and improvement and extension of education, improvement of the administration of justice, reorganization of the distressed craftsmanship and the establishment of an inalienable and inviolable family property, the only possible protection of the fellah against all kinds of usurers. The Action Populaire, published in French, is forbidden in September, Al Atlas, a publication in Arabian, in October. In Khemisset a Roman catholic procession is permitted, in spite of the resistance of the Moroccans, who saw in this an instance of the notorious policy to catholicize the Berber tribes. This was all the worse, because at the same time the Ait Oubel were forbidden to hold a more or less religious festival. In the Mosque this Berber-policy was preached against, processions were held and there were conflicts with the authorities. By administrative measure (what colonial people does not suffer under this dictatorship?) well-known leaders such as Allal el Fassi, Ben Abdeljelil, Lyazidi and Mekhouar were arrested and exiled. At the same time it was announced that protests would be severely punished. In the left-wing Catholic periodical Esprit of December 1937 Emile Dermenghem speaks with good reason of the inevitability of the expected (a euphemism for provoked) protests, which he describes as follows: "For three days the merchants in the towns and in several small centres closed their shops, and manifestations took place according to the following outline: assembly in the mosque, address, recitation of the Latif prayer, a litany addressed to Him who alleviates afflictions, and which is always used in times of public disasters, procession to another mosque, new addresses, new Latif prayer, arrangement for next day's meeting." People are killed and wounded in Oudja, Rabat, Sale, Fes Casablanca and Port-Layutey. Dermenghem observes that from a moral point of view the happenings in Fes are immeasurably serious, and will for a long time serve as leitmotif throughout the East for protests and propaganda against France.

In Fes Latife had taken place for two days running, and the commander of the district, general Blanc, had the town entirely occupied, with the aid of grenades, while aeroplanes

showed themselves above the town. The Sacro-saint mosque Qaraouiyine is cleared: soldiers trash the crowd coming out through the only free exit, 600 persons are arrested. General Blanc declares that the holy city of Fes is no longer taboo, general Nougues comes to congratulate the troops, and says that it was pure kindness he did not use more violence: "we were ready for anything. . ."

According to the figures given by Dermenghem 57 million francs a year are spent in Morocco on the education of European children, and 20 million francs for that of the native Mohammedan children. (The population is 6 million, of whom 200,000 are European Christians and 150,000 indigenous Jews.) The taxes are mainly brought up by the Moroccans, and especially by the poorest of them, the fellahs.

The fellahs are the principal victims of the colonial regime, which makes proletarians of them en masse. In 1927, 9,029 hectares of land were expropriated for public works and for European colonists; in 1928, 37,382 hectares; in 1929, 65,041 hectares; in 1930, 10,582 hectares; and in 1931, 1,595 hectares, with an alarming increase in the number of beggars in the towns as a result.

We will not expatiate on the abominable conditions caused by famine in South-Morocco. At present 800,000 people in a state of starvation are being relieved by the Government. In a destructive fashion, as is only a matter of course in a society with a destructive trend. It would really be naïve to expect more advance to be made in the colonies than in the mother-country, and a constructive solution to be given to the problems there. The causes of the famine in South-Morocco—continual drought and encroachment of the desert—could be removed, if technical energy were used to serve life instead of the aims of capitalism.

On the part of the Government certain reforms have been promised the Moroccans. For the present at any rate the prisoners remain in prison, and the exiles banished to the inhospitable regions of the Atlas mountains. La Revolution Proletarienne of December 25 reports that a number of persons have been deported to unknown destinations, and that even the immediate relations of these prisoners do not know where they are, which (except in Russia) does not even happen in fascist countries. In the beginning of December three persons were arrested in Casablanca and two in Fes because they had signed telegrams urging better treatment of the political prisoners.

The parties of the Popular Front are conspicuous by their lamentable attitude as regards all this. If they were not silent, as they were silent when the French "anti-fascist" government sent the Spanish fugitives back to Spain, which meant certain death for a number of them, it was to insinuate that "the young people who so persistently demanded 'democratic liberties' might well be hidden friends of Franco or Mussolini." As the parties of the right wing, however, saw the hand of Moscow in the Moroccan movement, the balance was restored again. And the mad world rolls on.

—Press Service IAMB

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(January 10 to February 10)

INCOME: \$0.85, Receipt Number 184; One Dollar, Receipt Numbers 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 187 188, 190, 191, 193, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 202; Two Dollars, Receipt Numbers, 181, 182, 186, 192, 199; Five Dollars, Receipt Numbers, 185, 189, 198; \$7.50 Receipt Number 179; \$19.00, Receipt Number 173a; \$20.00, Receipt No. 172.	
TOTAL:	\$61.10
EXPENDITURES:	118.13
Deficit Last Issue	29.25
TOTAL:	147.38
INCOME	61.10
DEFICIT	\$86.28

Regular Monthly Appearance Threatened

The huge deficit reported in the financial statement above made it next to impossible in publishing the present issue. Only a loan made this possible. We deal with the printer on a strictly cash basis. All those concerned with the life and work of MAN! should therefore realize that the regular monthly appearance of MAN! can only be assured if sufficient funds will be forthcoming.

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CONFISCATIONS IN MADRID

Agapito Escanilla, communist lieutenant mayor of Champerí district, Madrid, delivered a report on municipal problems at the Provincial Conference of the Communist Party.

Since the report seems to present the communist viewpoint regarding confiscations of fascist estates in Madrid, and also reveals the extent of the confiscations of the government as well as by the various political and labor groups, we reprint below the report in question as well as the comment of the daily "CNT" of Madrid.

In his report Escanilla says, "In January, 1937, there were 3,367 estates in Madrid which had been seized by the Confiscations Committee, 937 by the Agrupacion Socialista (local Socialist Party), and 1,473 by the CNT. The Communist Party was not administering any because it had not confiscated any, either."

The "CNT" of Madrid comments upon this: "An interesting declaration. So the Communist Party did not confiscate any estates, eh? Then where has the provincial committee been installed, where are its various radio stations, their women's organizations, the Red Aid, the Friends of the Soviet Union, and the Pioneers? It takes 'guts' to make such statements in the face of facts. Furthermore, such a statement is tantamount to saying that such seizures should not have been made, and almost that they constitute an immorality. Do the communist comrades understand it that way? We ask this question only with the purpose of knowing how far their revolutionary spirit goes and what is their interpretation of the class struggle. . . ."

—Spanish Labor Bulletin